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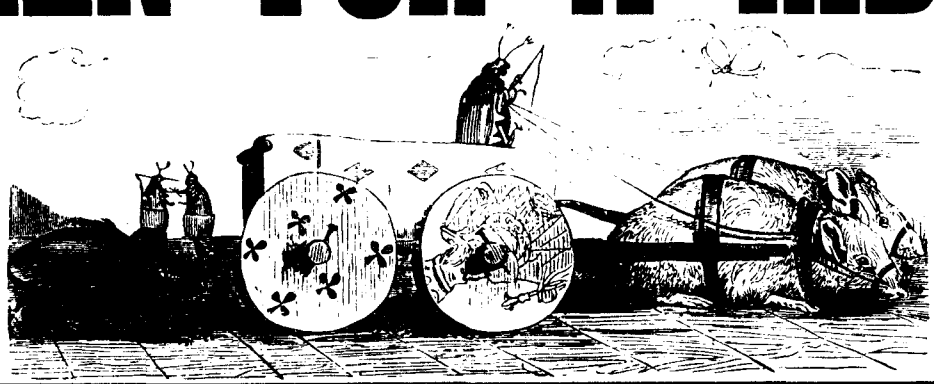
BUSING: WHO'S BEING TAKEN FOR A RIDE?



MURRAY POLNER **HALF AND HALF AND UNWANTED**
MICHAEL NOVAK **THE CAMPAIGN OF 1972**
DONALD D. RANSTEAD **CHILEAN LEFT IN TROUBLE**
LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM **THEOLOGY ITALIAN STYLE**
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR. **PECKINPAH'S BAD BOY**
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NEWS & VIEWS

Ted in the Cabinet?

About the same time that Father Theodore Hesburgh was testifying before the House Judiciary Committee, *The Nation* was hitting the news stands with its article "Hesburgh of Notre Dame: The Necessary Catholic."

There was no direct connection, of course, but the two did complement one another in that Father Hesburgh was exercising what the article noted has been a Hesburgh characteristic for three years: giving the Administration advice, "though the circumstances have become less friendly."

Before the Judiciary Committee, Father Hesburgh was attacking curbs on school busing, and arguing that a Constitutional amendment to stop busing of students to achieve integration would be "anti-black" and would "undermine what progress we have made in race relations . . . in schools and in society."

It was the fourth time in recent months that Hesburgh, as chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, was bucking the Administration. Three times during 1971 he criticized the Justice Department for dragging its feet in civil rights enforcement. Meanwhile, he was calling for an immediate end to the war in Indochina, and supporting peace demonstrations by students.

It was, in sum, a fascinating development, not merely because Hesburgh, as an Eisenhower appointee to the Commission, was a protégé of the Republicans, but because the White House and Hesburgh were on a "Dear Ted" relationship early in the Nixon Administration. Those days seem now to have been eons ago.

The Nation article maintains that Hesburgh's emergence as "the first of a new breed of low-profile priest-politicians," could lead to a Cabinet-level position in the "next Administration." The presumption here, of course, is double. The "next Administration" would have to be Democratic, for Republicans have long memories, and Mr. Nixon the longest of all. Secondly, Father Hesburgh would have to be willing—a detail which the article's authors, Joel R. Connelly and Howard J. Dooley, consider quite likely.

They affirm that Hesburgh's work at Notre Dame is "almost completed," and that in a day when the median tenure for college presilents has fallen from 11 to four years, the odds dictate a change in the presidency of Notre Dame.

Hesburgh is reputed to have once said, "No man should be president of this university for more than 20 years." He marks his 20th anniversary as president of Notre Dame this year.

A New Liberal Voice

Among supporters of the projected Italian liberal Catholic weekly *Com* are Belgian priest Gerard Lutte, who works among shanty dwellers on the outskirts of Rome; Salesian theologian Giulio Girardi, who was transferred from Rome to Paris for his ideas on Christian-Marxist dialogue; and Benedictine Abbot Giovanni Franzoni of St. Paul's Outside the Walls.

Abbot Franzoni was the focus of a recent protest demonstration in St. Peter's Square, which included the singing of "We Shall Overcome" beneath the Pope's window.

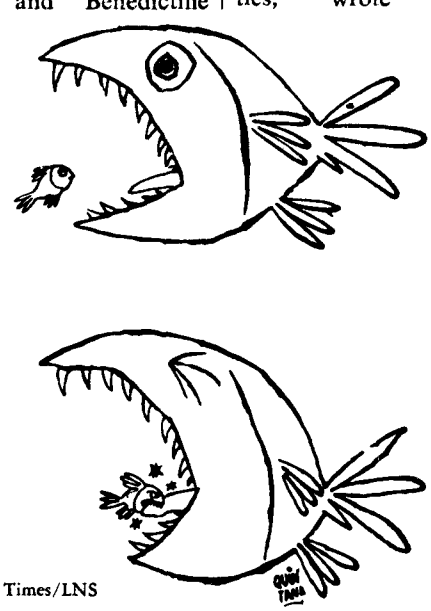
Protestors were aiming to head off Franzoni's removal from St. Paul's, a move reportedly underway because of the abbot's criticism of Vatican policies and his "controversial" social involvements. He has raised funds for strikers, backed conscientious objectors, and led protests against the Vietnam and Indian-Pakistani wars.

The new weekly will be owned by a cooperative of subscribers, and edited by a cooperative of journalists. It will have a format like *Le Monde*. Organizers hope to have 10,000 subscribers, when *Com* is launched in early spring.

One-Upping the Navy

The proposal of the Armed Forces *Journal* for a nuclear aircraft carrier named after Martin Luther King Jr. is torpedoed by Washington overseer Wes Barthelmes in a letter to the *Washington Post* (which reported the proposal).

"This proposal opens up a number of other possibilities," wrote Barthelmes. "There could be established the Westmoreland Peace Prize under the sponsorship of the Hudson Institute, the George Wallace Award for Interracial Justice, the Industrial Health and Safety Award of the National Coal Association, an annual Freedom-of-Information Lecture financed by Howard Hughes Enterprises, [and] the George Allen Trophy for Football Rookie of the Year."



Good Times/LNS

Episcopal Blinders

It's hard to tell whether chronic baiter Farley Clinton was putting down *Commonweal* and *The Critic* in *The Wanderer,* or Bishop Maurice Schexnayder of Lafayette, La.:

"In addition, Bishop Schexnayder . . . seemed markedly unenthusiastic about the nominally Catholic press, especially magazines. He long ago discerned that *Commonweal* was a complete waste of time but, to his mild annoyance, they still send it to him. 'I sometimes glance at the headlines before I throw it in the wastebasket.

"He was more fortunate with *The Critic*. It seems that the quiet switch from Christianity to Teilhardism alienated him completely; and when he stopped subscribing they stopped sending to him. For this reason he didn't even hear about the ex-Jesuit McKenzie's hysterical personal attack on Pope Paul VI a while ago. He doesn't see things like that, and he doesn't miss them."

Odds and Ends

— Another sword hanging over the Catholic press' head: in 1975 the IRS will begin taxing the advertising income of all non-profit publications. (That's one tax *Commonweal* will beat; we're only non-profit in fact.)

— Recent *London Times* listing for BBC's Radio 3: *"Land of Lost Content,* composed by Ireland—at the piano, Britten." JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Worthy Opponent

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: I have just gotten to read Martin R. Berube's article, "Is This School Necessary?", in the January 14 issue and find that it refers to me as a "well-known opponent of parochial education."

Alas, it is true; I am well known as an opponent of parochial education. But if by "parochial education" Mr. Berube means, as I assume he must, religiously oriented secular education, then what is well known does not happen to be true. It hardly could be, in view of the fact that both my children received their elementary education in Jewish day schools.

What bothers me is that Mr. Berube's characterization of what is "well known" is the ready identification of opposition to governmental financing of parochial education with opposition to parochial education itself. I know it is somewhat difficult to accept the notion that a person can be opposed to governmental financing of parochial education without being an opponent of parochial education; but well known or not, it is true.

LEO PFEFFER

Padraic Colum

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Your memorial page on Padraic Colum [Feb. 11] brought to one who had studied the efforts of Irish Renaissance writers in his classes a sense of disappointment, verging on outrage. Had no one at *Commonweal* any notion of the contributions made by Colum, and other members of the movement, not only to literary growth in Ireland and the United States, but to cultural movements of the twentieth century in centers as far distant from one another as Paris and Hawaii? Your writer seems completely unaware of the significance of this small national group which, in the early part of this century, struggled to achieve artistic integrity in

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THE POLITICS OF PASSION

Busing, it seems, for good reasons and bad, is going to be *the* issue of 1972. The good reasons: on a real and symbolic level it concerns our responses to fundamental social and moral problems in our society—racism, equality of opportunity, education, whether or not the next generation will grow up as members of one harmonious (though ever pluralistic) society or two; our would-be leaders are being forced to take stands, we're seeing what our politicians are made of. The bad reasons: the issue is complex; there is no simple "progressive" formula that can be applied to every local situation; the subject, like every racial issue, evokes profound emotions—from instant righteousness to racist fear and hate.

In the long run we can't separate the question of busing from the question of the integration of the larger society. This is particularly true in a culture like ours where the public school system, from kindergarten through college, is geared not only toward academic achievement but also toward the preparation of citizens for membership in a large and extremely complex national community. Parents know this. They know their children will befriend and eventually marry their schoolmates. So, the instinct to reinforce the separation of races, economic classes and ethnic groups by separate education is still strong. The rich have always been able to do this through their exclusive private schools; and parochial schools have sometimes served the same purpose. Yet, there is a growing conviction that the best education takes place when the school's student body corresponds in a real way to the make-up of society as a whole; and the law has been interpreted to demand busing to achieve this goal.

With this in mind we should outgrow the myth that the so-called "neighborhood school" is the ideal American way. We may like the picture of little Junior waving his parents goodbye as, with book bag in one hand and lunch pail in the other, he skips down the street to face Miss Gradgrind and frolic with his chums. Yet, as Nicolaus Mills' article in this issue (p. 55) makes clear, busing has been an American tradition since 1869. Meanwhile, busing for desegregation is only a small part of school busing. Now 42.2 percent of all pupils, not including those who use public transportation, are bused to school. And busing is becoming more essential if the educational resources of an area—museums, theaters, gymnasia, science laboratories—are to be used by rich, poor, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, blacks and

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whites. Furthermore, busing may be necessary now not only to achieve integration more quickly but also to emphasize the importance of pressing for more far-reaching educational reforms. Affluent suburban communities might not face up to the responsibility of improving all the schools, by financing them on a state-wide and national basis from income taxes rather than through local property taxes, as long as so-called compensatory education in the ghettos is given priority over full integration. Nor can we disregard the substantial eivdence, beginning with the 1966 Coleman report and including recent research of Senator Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), that children from poor families learn more readily when they go to school with more affluent ones, while pouring money into ghetto schools does very little good.

The statements of the politicians are filled with fuzzy distortions and straw men that reveal more than anything else, the straw in the men who make them. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's argument that "forced" busing "just hasn't worked" is equivalent to rejecting the Democratic party because it hasn't guaranteed permanent prosperity or Christianity because it hasn't brought universal peace. Meanwhile, no one is fighting for "massive," "arbitrary" or "unnecessary" busing or for sacrificing little white children on the altar of liberal principles; yet busing opponents keep tossing scare words in the air. Nor does it help to say that busing must be rejected because it isn't *the* answer to the overall problem. Of course it isn't. Those candidates who have tried to discuss the issue responsibly and have had the courage to say something mildly unpopular—at this point Lindsay, Muskie, McGovern, Chisholm and McCarthy—grant that busing is at least a necessary tool toward achieving integration. The brave stand of Florida Governor Reuben Askew, who is campaigning against a state anti-busing referendum, makes us wish there was one more Demo-

Half and Half And Unwanted

Five-year-old Lan lives in an orphanage not far from Saigon, alone and abandoned by her family. A bitter and confused young man in his 20's, living in Germany, reviews the ambiguity and bleakness of his life. Thousands of miles apart, they nonetheless bear an indelible stigma: Both are half-black children of American GIs.

"We (the 25,000 fathered and forgotten by black soldiers in Germany) have no culture, no traditions of our own," says the young man in Germany. "We are neither white nor black. We are stuck and floundering in the middle. We are half and half."

The future for the five-year-old girl is even more desperate, two decades of war and destruction having dimmed the future even for all-Vietnamese children.

Nobody has an accurate notion of just how many GI-fathered children there are in Southeast Asia. The generally accepted number is 10-15,000 and, says the State Department, "Of these nearly all are reported to be living in Vietnamese society, with their mothers of immediate relatives; only 350-400 are living in orphanages." The director of the soon-to-open Martin Luther King Center for Children in Gia Dinh—sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—is skeptical, estimating that half-black children alone reach that number. Still, what do statistics have to do with the lives of the young?

Half-whites will fare better if only because of the already extended Vietnamese family which cares for them and because "white is beautiful" in Vietnam, and light-skinned children are highly prized. Even for them, however, the future is ambiguous: will the fact of their illegitimacy or that their mother was a prostitute, or even American parentage, affect the degree to which they will be accepted when they grow up?

The future of half-blacks is, however, predictably desperate. Confronted by perpetual discrimination, with no black community in Vietnam, the child will be reared in comparative isolation.

When the French left in 1955, they did try to accept responsibility for French-fathered children. The French "solution" allowed many to move as subsidized wards to France. Today, special schools and programs in Vietnam paid for by the French benefit some 400 young people. They also recognize offspring born of one French parent, or illegitimately, as having the right to French citizenship.

But if Saigon has its way, the French approach will not be adopted again. The United States agrees, preferring that all assistance be channeled through Vietnamese agencies. "We are not convinced," wrote Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs John Richardson, Jr. in early 1972, "that we should do what France did." Even those less committed to Saigon's political fortunes tend to echo that view. Following an ISS-convened meeting last summer. Welles Klein of International Social Service, a private agency, warned against attempts to begin special programs only for GI children. "Most of the American-fathered children . . . have full Vietnamese brothers and sisters who would benefit from such special assistance. . . . Whatever we do for American-fathered children in Vietnam must be done for the broader group of disadvantaged and dependent children. . . ."

Official American policy has been confused and and confusing, ranging from a 1970 Defense Department statement denying responsibility to a more recent

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cratic candidate for President.

Fortunately the courts have seen how the placement of local schools can become a *de jure* means of reinforcing *de facto* segregation, and their stand is further evidence of their importance as interpreters of our laws and guardians of our national moral principles. They have seen how separate education is bad education; at the same time they have provided that busing should not place an undue burden on the children involved. Would that Congress and the President were as anxious to solve the nation's deeper educational problems as they are to exploit this emotional issue. We watch with disappointment the sorry scramble of the President and the Congress to curtail busing in an election year; and we fully expect that the President, if he is allowed to remain in office, will redouble his efforts to burden the federal judiciary system with mediocre men with principles similar to his own.

statement by the Embassy in Saigon conceding that "responsibility . . . has become a matter of serious and continuing concern." There are rumors now that following a State Department recommendation to the National Security Council, $2 million will be allocated for one year to the Vietnamese Ministry of Social Welfare.

"Publicly the Saigon government claims there will be no discrimination against any GI kids," said a social worker for a private agency. "Privately, though, they admit that black kids, and especially black girls, will need help badly. But they do insist that all such help be transmitted through them and that imposed French or American solutions are now out of the question."

Recently, Senators Williams, Hatfield and Hughes introduced S.2497 (which omits German offspring), a comprehensive and feasible response to what can be done, and hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are expected soon. It calls for the establishment of a temporary Vietnamese Children's Care Agency to work with Saigon and private groups. It also provides for the adoption of American-fathered half-blacks.

Still, no amount of money, no crash programs, no plethora of good intentions can undo the harm done them or their stark future. Inter-country adoption of those who have been abandoned is handled by ISS in New York City and may well be the child's best hope. But in the end, Lan and others like her are only the latest victims of the heartlessness of the war machines.

MURRAY POLNER

Murray Polner is the author of No Victory Parades: The Return of the Vietnam Veterans [*Holt, Rinehart*] *and the forthcoming* A Debate on Amnesty for Exiles [*Doubleday Anchor*].)

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Senator McGovern clearly got under the skin of his opponents in New Hampshire, particularly Senator Muskie, not only by his ultimate strong showing in the balloting but by his persistent needling beforehand on the question of disclosing the sources of all campaign funds. Senator McGovern himself showed the way in this; he provided the press with the name and address of every contributor to his campaign, listing separately all those who gave $1,000 or more. True, of course, Mr. McGovern is the candidate of the "little guy"; he has few wealthy backers and thus is in the best position to make such a frank disclosure. Nonetheless, his course of action in this matter was correct, and it is good that it is now being imitated by his rivals.

The problem initially arose because such disclosure of campaign spending does not become mandatory by the new federal law until early in April. By then the expenditures in the Presidential primaries in New Hampshire, Florida, Illinois and Wisconsin will be ancient history, to be uncovered only by patient scholars, if ever. Given this fact, the original protestations by other Democratic candidates that they would reveal the source of their funds only when such disclosure was demanded by law was disappointing, to put it mildly. This makes their change of heart welcome, and also the announcement that Common Cause has taken as its first national project the mobilization of citizens' groups to watch for violations of the new federal law on campaign spending in the case of House and Senate races. The plain truth is that too many office-holders, past and present, are or have been beholden to hidden campaign contributors. Even the new law, welcome as it is, does not guarantee reform. Responsibility for the enforcement of the new regulations on spending falls on the non-partisan General Accounting Office in the case of the Presidential race, but in the case of the House and Senate races, with which Common Cause will concern itself, the burden of supervision falls upon the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate. Without intending any insult to either man, it is fair enough to note that both are appointees of whichever political party is in the majority in Congress. As a Common Cause memo points out, this situation automatically creates a conflict by "assigning a servant to investigate the master," and it is hard to quarrel with this adverse judgment. For our part, we are happy that Common Cause has taken on this valuable task, and we hope that in future elections frank disclosure and full public scrutiny will be the rule.

John Fandel is in Europe on a sabbatical year. Filling in for him as poetry editor is Mark Taylor, a member of the faculty at Manhattan College, author of a forthcoming study of George Herbert, and himself a contributor to this magazine.

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1972

MICHAEL NOVAK

IN 1968, I WAS among those who argued that old canons of "realism" should not be applied. Humphrey should not be rewarded for Democratic betrayal on the war, even though in ordinary times retribution or reward are, in politics, emotions to be checked and not indulged. The election of Humphrey would establish an impunity that would hurt democracy and would strengthen the old guard in the Democratic Party.

I made a pledge then to work harder than I ever had to defeat Nixon in 1972. For to neglect Humphrey was to elect Nixon. And that meant accepting responsibility for the changes in the Supreme Court, in the Justice Department, and in poverty programs that were certain to follow. During the congressional election of 1970, I was delighted to work all summer with Sargent Shriver, visiting congressional districts in every region of the nation. How bleak Nixon and Agnew looked then! How dismal the situation of the Democrats. It was an opportunity to meet the incredibly various, resourceful, and tough people of many states, and to see how empty even the most fashionable rhetoric, political or intellectual, sounded in local meeting halls.

Some good luck allowed me to take a leave of absence from the University in 1971-72 in order to work for the defeat of Nixon. A solid invitation arrived, unsolicited by me, to help Senator Muskie. For about six weeks at the end of 1971, I commuted to Washington three days a week. I wasn't successful as a speechwriter, but saw an enormous amount of work to be done. Non-political commitments in California required six weeks in 1972. As I write, I'm not yet back into the campaign; I hope to resume soon.

My chief commitment is to the defeat of Nixon. To be sure, he has been a better President than I had hoped. The China initiative currently in progress is brilliant in conception; I hope it is fruitful. But to have involved all of us in four years of cruel and barbarous bombing in Indochina is morally expensive in the extreme. I find the categories of "reward or retribution," despite myself, applicable again. Even eminent stockbrokers, interviewed by *Barron's*, recently recounted how they believe Nixon capable of *anything* in order to make sure business is good by election time. Most of all, I recall the 100,000 elderly who have fallen back into poverty each year since Nixon has been in office. Those 100,000 are reason enough to work against him.

For no President is a savior. No one person can turn our system wholly around, let alone alter the human situation. (Some utopians confuse the two.) No political leader, in or out of a major party, offers more than partial progress. Sober judgment notes the fairly narrow limits upon an American President.

Beginning with this issue, a regular column by Michael Novak will appear on this page, alternating with that by Peter Steinfels, which will continue to appear on its usual every-other-week schedule.

"Why not McGovern?" I am often asked. No doubt a very good man. But also, so far, he is chiefly a spokesman of the national liberal culture. He voices the views of the educated class, highly mobile, traveled, its members more in touch (by journals, books, films) with each other than with local culture. He is perceived, so far, as speaking "televisionese," the language of this superculture, rather than the language of the many local cultures. The connotations, the overtones, the vibrations—those sly signals flashing our allegiances—are too much aimed toward the "enlightened." There is too much moral superiority, arousing of guilt feelings, preachment. There is not enough feeling for and with people. At least so far.

The white lower-middle class, particularly in urban areas, is the key to the politics of the future. Whatever hopes we have of fundamental economic change depend upon the insight, anger, and power of that class. The enlightened are bigoted regarding the unenlightened: that is our major strategic problem. The enlightened *mean* well, they are capable of change, but they have a longstanding contempt for parochial, rough, direct, ordinary people.

The key to a campaign that genuinely unites the nation and leads it forward is to lead the national liberal culture to identify with the pain and necessities of those toward whom it is now bigoted: the white lower middle class. If the educated could learn in a few short years how to respect the sensitivities of blacks, there is reason to hope they can take yet another step.

Senator Muskie himself seems uncertain. Rather than seizing the leadership of the enlightened, and turning their abundant energies toward a powerful coalition with the lower middle class, he seems to straddle: to talk televisionese to the enlightened (and to look when he does so like a less decisive McGovern), and to count on the support of the lower middle class, as if it was assured him (which it isn't). Support for Muskie is broad but not deep. Rather than exciting independents (both educated and uneducated) with leadership, he seems like a quiet compromise.

A Democrat will win in 1972. Nixon, despite his reputation as an astute

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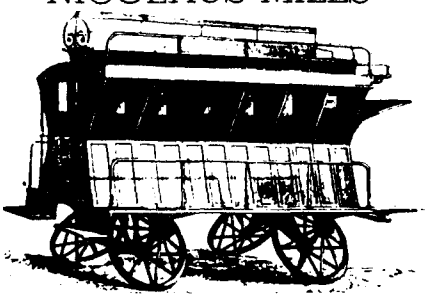
BUSING: WHO'S BEING TAKEN FOR A RIDE?

NICOLAUS MILLS



An American tradition since 1869.

I would also like to restate my position as it relates to busing. I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegration cases. I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school children to achieve a racial balance, and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing.

PRESIDENT NIXON, 1971

All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER, 1971

IN ITS 1953 YEARBOOK, the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association offered the following description of busing: "The daily trip to and from school is an informal learning situation that reflects the feelings, the desires, the aspirations, the problems, the successes and the failures of pupils. While the morning ride carries the joys, the enthusiasm and sorrows of home, the afternoon ride from school back home brings together the reactions to the school activities of the day. . . . There is no better defined continuity of home and school life than may be observed on the bus as children leave home to ride to school and as these same children leave school in the afternoon to return home." Today this description seems both naive and idyllic, and yet the surprise it causes is in considerable measure due to the fact that the present crisis over school busing has blinded us to the degree to which busing goes beyond the issue of desegration. We have, almost willfully it would seem, neglected to ask ourselves the most basic questions about school busing. What is its history? What is its extent? Who wants it, and who benefits most from it? The answers to these questions will not, of course, make school busing disappear as a political issue, but they do provide a chance for seeing it in perspective.

HISTORY OF BUSING

The history of school bus transportation shows that it is inseparably woven into the social, economic and industrial development of our nation. WILLIAM H. ROE
School Business Management

The current controversy over school busing is surprising to those of us who have devoted our lives to public education. The school bus has been a major factor in improving the educational opportunity of hundreds of millions of American children during the last half century.

DONALD MORRISON
President, National Education Association

Like so many of our current educational problems, busing has a much deeper history than we are accustomed to acknowledging. Its origins not only go back to a time long before desegregation but even before there were buses. In 1869 Massachusetts enacted a law authorizing the spending of public funds to carry

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children to and from school. The vehicles employed to do this task were, for the most part, horsedrawn wagons or carriages. Usually, a farmer in the neighborhood was contracted to provide the horses and buggies and paid in proportion to the number of students he hauled. Interestingly enough, horsedrawn pupil transportation lasted well into the 1920's. In 1927-28, approximately 12 percent of the school transportation vehicles used in 32 states were still horse-powered rather than motor-powered.

Seven years after Massachusetts passed its pupil transportation act, Vermont followed suit, and then two other New England states—Maine and New Hampshire—passed pupil transportation laws. By 1900 18 states had some sort of pupil transportation law, and by 1919 pupil transportation at public expense was legal in all 48 states. What were the forces behind this development? In virtually all states they were two: compulsory attendance laws based on the belief that the welfare of the state required all children to receive some education; the consolidation of school centers in rural areas which had formerly relied on inferior one-room schoolhouses. In 31 states school consolidation laws preceded school transportation laws, and in 14 states they were passed simultaneously. What they meant for rural children was that the circumstances of their lives were not allowed to deprive them of the kind of education city children could assume by virtue of where they lived.

In the first two decades of this century, the demand for pupil transportation rose even more, as rural population continued to decline and the school consolidation movement gathered greater acceptance. By the end of Word War I, two other factors were also in operation. The first of these was the development of the automobile. The number of registered motor vehicles tripled between 1919 and 1929 and provided a new means of getting students to school. The second factor was the improvement of roads. During this period the number of surfaced roads almost doubled, with the result that transportation in bad weather became increasingly feasible.

In the last 25 years these same factors have been among the reasons why the demand for pupil transportation has accelerated. Since the end of World War II, the number of school districts in the country has, for example, dropped from over 100,000 to 17,153. In addition, new forces have helped spur the growth of pupil transportation. Cities and suburban areas have shown a willingness to transport children, even though public transportation systems are often available to them, and the states themselves have increasingly asserted leadership in pupil transportation programs. This has meant not only the allocation of more funds for busing, but the assertion of more uniform safety standards, and economy measures in terms of large-scale buying of buses and transportation supplies. It has also meant that the figuring out of school bus routes has started to change from the job of local officials to that of specially trained computer operators.

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EXTENT OF BUSING

> *"If the Federal Government is going to reach its long arm into my house and say, 'We are sorry but your children are going to have to be bused 30 miles,' I say the Government has gone too far."*
>
> Representative EDITH GREEN

> *It is sheer distortion to depict busing as the devil's instrument when more than 18 million children daily go to school by bus, not including the millions who use public transportation. But we consider undesirable—as does the Supreme Court—the long-distance busing of young children, in Richmond, Va., as well as in Richmond, New York.*
>
> *New York Times* EDITORIAL, Feb. 25, 1972

The extent of busing, no less than its history, goes against the assumptions which are generally made about it. As *New York Times* education writer Gene Maeroff recently noted, "Busing for desegregation is still only a small part of all school busing. For millions of American children who live too far from any school to walk, the institution known as the neighborhood school is not and never has been a reality."

The most recent surveys put the number of students bused at 42.2 percent of all pupils in the United States. Other statistics are as follows:

Number of children bused to school	19.6 million
Cost of busing (including replacement)	$1.5 billion
Busing costs in states as percentages of total education outlays	0.7 to 6.9 percent
Number of buses	256,000
Number of drivers	275,000
Miles traveled per year	2.2 billion

These figures make school busing the greatest single transportation system in the country. They reflect not only the quality of school busing, however, but also its breadth, the fact that 80 percent of the school dis-

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tricts in the country maintain one or more vehicles for pupil transportation, with fleets in the largest districts including more than 500 vehicles and the average fleet at 15 vehicles.

On a national average these figures are very consistent with the tendency in the last decade for the number of pupils bused to rise from .5 to 2.5 percent per year. They are, on the other hand, *less* than the percentage gains recorded over other ten-year periods. The gain from 1959-60, when the number of pupils bused stood at 37.6 percent, to the present is, for example, approximately 5 percent. In 1949-50, on the other hand, the number of pupils transported was 27.7 percent (a change of almost 10 percent), and in 1939-40 the number of pupils transported was 16.3 percent (a change in that decade of more than 11 percent). The figures reaffirm, above all else, the degree to which busing was a normal and accepted part of public education, long before it was thought of as a means of bringing about segregation.

WHO WANTS AND BENEFITS?

In fact, most of it [school busing in New York State] occurs in predominantly white suburban and rural areas where parents pay handsomely, either directly or indirectly, for what they consider the privilege.

FLEISCHMANN COMMISSION ON EDUCATION, NEW YORK

Over a period of years there have been substantial improvements in rural education. Many of them have been in the past 20 years—since the end of World War II. Only a few rural children still attend what traditionally was the "little red schoolhouse." Most now ride school buses to a consolidated school.

ROBERT M. ISENBERG
Associate Executive Secretary,
American Association of
School Administrators

As the history and statistics of busing indicate, the greatest demand for it has come from rural states, where population is scattered and the consolidated school district is typical. There are now many states which transport almost 100 percent of those rural pupils who meeet the distance standards set up by the state as a requirement for transportation, and it is not uncommon to find rural schools in which more than 95 percent of all pupils enrolled come to school in a bus. In states like Maine, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, more

It is not uncommon to find rural schools in states like Maine and Kentucky in which 95 percent of the pupils come to school in a bus.

than 60 percent of all students are bused to school daily, and in Vermont, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Idaho and Oregon, the percentages are not far behind. When one reads the educational literature put out by such states, it is also apparent that busing is an activity in which great pride is taken. As an essay written by the State Board of Education on "Pupil Transportation in North Carolina" notes, "As long as we accepted a narrow and limited education as satisfactory, the State discharged this responsibility primarily through the establishment of a small school within walking distance of most pupils. But demands on the school for a broadened program increased. . . . These and other factors have resulted in transportation of pupils to and from school becoming one of the most important of the auxiliary activities of the school." Indeed, for those most sensitive to rural education problems, the need for greater busing has only increased of late. As Robert Isenberg noted in testimony before the Select Committee on Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, "Too many of the school systems in rural America still lack the capability of providing a quality education program. We need an improved delivery system."

The demand and need for more busing cannot, however, be confined to rural areas. As E. Glenn Featherston and D. P. Culp note in their massive study of *Pupil Transportation,* urban and suburban areas have begun to use busing more heavily than before. Not only has busing become a safety factor in crowded urban areas or suburbs where no sidewalks exist, it has also permitted these areas to develop special schools, designed to serve pupils with common interests rather than merely those who live together. At present some of the largest bus fleets in the country are those operating in and around urban areas.

Indeed, the urban trend towards specialized schools points up the fact that virtually all attempts at unique elementary and high school education now depend on some form of busing. Whether one has in mind an elite private school, like the Chapin School in New York, where most lower-and middle-school children ride the bus, or an educational complex that depends on the pooling of a wide variety of resources, the bus is critical. The parochial schools of this country, which have continually gone to court in order to have their

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students transported at public exepnse, provide perhaps the best-known example of the close ties between busing and special education. They have continually argued that their viability depends on pupil transportation, and they have been instrumental in getting state school boards to transport nonpublic school students at public expense. Four states, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin, have Constitutions which authorize such transportation, and a number of other states have statutory provisions for school boards to transport nonpublic school students at public expense.

Busing in urban areas also has been and is being used to deal with the opposite population problem rural areas have—overcrowding. In cities where shifts in population have made it impossible for neighborhood schools to cope with an influx of students, busing to less crowded areas has been adopted. St. Louis provides a classic case of this. There busing was used as an alternative to having double-sessions, which would have set one set of children free in the morning and another set in the afternoon. For those transported, the benefits of the program were obvious, but they were not the only beneficiaries. As a report to the Superintendent of St. Louis schools emphasized "reduction of class size, through bus transportation and other expediencies . . . made it possible for *nontransported as well as transported* children residing in the districts of these seriously overcrowded schools to suffer minimal education loss."

While demographic and geographic forces, coupled with the need for more sophisticated kinds of education, provide the major impetus for school busing, they do not tell the whole story, however. Forty-three states have provision for the transportation of children with handicaps—either emotional or physical. The range of categories extends from those suffering retardation to those who are deaf and blind, and the most common provision is for the distance requirement to be waived with regard to the busing of such children. In any number of states these transportation programs are both expensive and thorough. In Illinois, for example, over 9,000 handicapped children are transported daily to and from their schools under arrangements *other* than regular school bus services. The state pays local districts as much as half the cost, up to the sum of $400 per year per child.

The final result of all this is that the school bus has come to be looked upon as anything but a necessary evil. More and more schools are using it not merely to get students to class but for curriculum trips and extracurricular activities. It is not uncommon to find educators referring to the bus as "an extending arm of the classroom," or to see an increasing number of studies which show bus trips themselves enlarging the student's horizon.

The school bus has become anything but a necesary evil. More and more it is being used for curriculum trips and extracurricular activities.

MYTHS AND REALITIES

The Select Commitee, incidentally, has figures that reveal George Wallace for the demagogue he is on the busing issue. For Mississippi, South Carolina and Mr. Wallace's own Alabama, there has been a decrease of 2 to 3 percent in each state in the total number of students bused since the 1967-68 school year. Before that schools in these states were almost entirely segregated. . . . TOM WICKER

Granting that busing is inconvenient for everyone, do you see busing as a legitimate means to achieve quality education for all?

Yes—23 percent
No—75 percent
No opinion—2 percent

ILLINOIS POLL OF
SENATOR CHARLES PERCY

WITH THESE OBSERVATIONS in mind it becomes possible to turn to the current crisis over school busing and begin to sort out the myths and fictions which have surrounded it. Five of these myths, I think, may be said to stand out from the others and offer a final chance to put the school bus issue in perspective.

1) *Busing goes against tradition and represents a break with past approaches to improving education*: The fact that the first pupil transportation bills were passed in the nineteenth century and that by the conclusion of World War I all the states had passed legislation on pupil transportation provides the clearest refutation of the idea that school busing is somehow untraditional. What is equally important to remember, however, is that school busing has traditionally been regarded as a way of equalizing educational opportunity. It has distinctly gone against the notion that children who live in areas where population factors make it hard to receive a quality education should be forced to "make do." State boards of education have tradi-

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tionally argued that consolidation and the need for improved education are at the root of busing.

To quote from the literature of three states, Arkansas, Alabama and Mississippi, normally associated with anti-busing sentiment:

"Arkansas is now, and will long continue to be, predominantly a rural state. The rural children must be educated in standard schools, which, of course, is impossible with a one- and two-teacher school system. Large schools will have to be maintained where teachers who are specialists may be provided. . . . The transportation of children to school at public expense is now generally accepted by constituted educational authorities as a function of the state school system." "Most of our areas in Alabama are rural; therefore, it became necesssary to provide students with transportation to centers where the could receive the best possible education." "The public school districts of Mississippi, with few exceptions, own and operate their bus fleets. . . . The great majority of pupils being transported is due to school consolidation and the rural make-up of this state." There is nothing, it should be emphasized, that is unusual in these statements. One could find such sentiments in the literature of most any state with a high degree of school busing.

2) *Busing is the exception and the neighborhood school is always the most desirable*: With the number of bused school children now 19.6 million and the percentage of bused children at 42.2 percent, it is no longer possible to regard busing as unusual. The same is also true for recent gains in busing. On a national scale they are no greater than gains over the past decade, and less in terms of percentages than gains in other decades. In this regard it is also relevant to note that in areas protesting most strongly about racial busing, there is often a long history of busing and a long history of disregard for neighborhood school patterns.

The case of Charlotte-Mecklenburg provides a perfect example. As the Supreme Court noted in its 1971 ruling, the Charlotte school authorities did not purport to assign students on the basis of geographically drawn zones until 1965, and then allowed almost unlimited transfer privileges. Moreover, the system as a whole, without regard to desegration plans, intended to bus approximately 23,000 students in 1971, for an average daily round trip of 15 miles. More elementary school children than high school children were to be bused, and 4- and 5-year-olds were scheduled for the longest routes in the system. Charlotte-Mecklenburg is not, of course, unusual. All across the country the neighborhood school has become an educationally less viable institution for reasons generally having nothing to do with desegregation.

3) *The decision to bus has, until recently, not been guided by social beliefs or principles*: The history of pupil transportation offers the most conclusive refuta-

All across the country the neighborhood school has become an educationally less viable institution for reasons generally having nothing to do with desegregation.

tion of this notion. The growth of pupil transportation is inseparable from the belief that education is required for the social welfare of the country and offers a chance for individual social advancement. Ironically, it is the South which provides the most dramatic case of bus transportation's being used to support a set of social values. The dual school system of the South would not have been possible without an elaborate pupil transporation system. As G. W. Foster, a former consultant to the Office of Education and a professor of law, has noted, "In dual school systems it has been customary in many instances for separate buses to travel the same roads, one to pick up Negroes for the Negro school and the other to take whites to a different school: Again separate bus routes for Negro and white students have operated in some instances to place individual children of either or both races under the burden of going to a distant pick-up point when a pick-up point for the opopsite race was much more convenient." What busing to achieve desegregation has done is not to introduce social values to the concept of pupil transportation but introduce social values that stir opposition.

4) *Riding on the school bus is bad for children*: There are certainly occasions when long-distance riding places a hardship on students, and the courts have been especially sensitive to this problem in ordering busing. Except when busing involves desegregation, this problem is rarely raised, however. When one surveys the state literature on busing, it is apparent that the bus ride to and from school is seen as a pleasant part of the school day. The most frequent warnings in this area are against children being carried away by their play and becoming a hazard to the bus driver. Again, the attitude of the South towards busing is most revealing when one considers its reputed bad effects: As the U. S. Civil Rights Commission has noted, in the South "in many cases, busing was the exclusive privilege of white children—black children often were required to walk considerable distances. No complaints then were heard from whites of any harmful [busing] effects." Indeed, rather than being bad for children, busing per se has shown itself a safety factor as well as a health factor.

5) *Busing is invariably a financial burden on a com-*

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munity: In a number of instances racial busing certainly has introduced expenses which a community was avoiding when it had segregated schools. But it cannot be assumed that increased busing—racial or otherwise is automatically a drain on a community. The busing which eliminated the one-room schoolhouse was a financial saving for the community, and busing for desegregation purposes is often the same. In the case of a dual school system, busing not only eliminates overlapping bus routes but the kinds of inefficiencies the Civil Rights Commission found in Alabama when it discovered, for example, that black students in Selma, seeking to attend trade school, were bused 50 miles to Montgomery to a nearly all-black trade school rather than allowed to attend an all-white trade school in Selma.

In the North, the savings made possible by busing for desegregation purposes are often harder to locate, but they are nonetheless present in a number of situations. For example, when the choice is between attempting to improve education through compensatory funding of schools or busing for integration, the latter is frequently the more economical choice. In testimony before the Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Dr. Wayne Carle, Superintendent of Schools in Dayton, Ohio, noted how in his city busing that made desegregation possible cost on a per pupil basis less than half of what compensatory funding did and was much more effective in improving education. A second example of the economy of busing is to be found in New York City, where Dan Dodson, professor of education at New York University, has proposed a plan that would involve busing 215,000 students in order to achieve desegregation. In his plan a large share of the cost that would be made up for by the use of under-utilized schools in areas outside Manhattan.

"It is quite obvious that busing per se has been widely accepted by the parents of the nation's children as an essential component of an education system," Donald Morrison, president of the National Education Association, has written. In the current debate over busing, this fact and its implications continue to be ignored.

CHILEAN LEFT IN TROUBLE

DONALD D. RANSTEAD

Allende's problem has been how to forge the unity and sense of urgency which a leftist government needs in order to create a climate for radical change.

It is now over fourteen months since President Salvador Allende was inaugurated, bringing to Chile a coalition (*Unidad Popular*) pledged not just to more social reforms, but to introducing a socialist society while allowing for a "loyal opposition" and change only through legal channels. There were more "firsts" about this than the oft-observed fact of its being the first Communist-Socialist coalition to be, as the phrase has it, "elected freely to office." That it was, for the Western Hemisphere at least. It was also a test to see if such a government could succeed in the absence of a domestic or foreign fascist threat or an economic catastrophe which could cement unity and allow for rapid action as, for example, in the U.S. in March, 1933.

Today Chile is no more threatened by *active* fascist subversion than two years ago, or for that matter eight. Its strongest neighbors, Argentina and Peru, range in attitudes from hands off to sympathetic appraisal. Allende's problem has been, among many others, how to forge the unity and sense of urgency which a leftist government needs in order to create a climate for *radical* change. In politics "as usual" such a government coalition will usually lose free elections if people do not see concrete change for the better affecting their daily lives. This seems to be borne out here as one judges the results of the last, and most serious of a series of UP election reverses, that of the two congressional by-elections held last January 16.

In a typically Chilean flight of imagery a leading Allende Cabinet Minister said the day after the results were made known: "It was a tremor grade 4 on the scale of 1 to 10, but certainly not an earthquake." This soon appeared to be an understatement, as the President himself instituted Cabinet shifts and presided the last week of January over an urgently called summit conference of the eight parties and "movements" which make up his coalition. A number-4 tremor will not bring down a well-built house, but can severely damage a jerry-built structure.

The seemingly irrepressible conflicts plaguing the country in November and December are now more or less resolved or forgotten. The UP no longer speaks of a *Cámera Unica* or nationalizing the privately owned news-

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print monopoly. The woes of the University of Chile are postponed until April with charges of sedition against its Christian Democratic (PDC) Rector dropped. One event of December did, however, have consequences. The highly publicized March of the Women with the empty pots and pans and the week of disorders which followed led directly to the downgrading of the Minister of Interior, José Tohá. The Congressional accusation (five charges in all) of not enforcing the laws properly or putting down para-military political groups united the Opposition—the PDC and traditional Right. The Lower House had voted for his ouster the end of December, but in prudent Chile the Senate waited until after the results of the by-elections before voting. Actually, the top leaders of the PDC were split on the initiative, some not wanting to precipitate a confrontation now with the UP and others hesitant about being identified with the conservatives. What probably decided the swing votes was the news that the incredibly inept plainclothes *Investigaciones* had roughed up the sons of two prominent PDC leaders. As Graham Greene said, there are some people who are not torturable in Latin America. (Plenty of non-affiliated leftists were "roughed up" under the PDC regime. No one here has written an *All My Sons* or ever taken the initiative to form an apolitical civil liberties union. That *would* be a revolution.)

In the January 16 elections one contest was for deputy in the traditionally conservative southern province of Linares. The rightist *Partido Nacional* put a man forward and the PDC voters were told they could vote freely—for him or the UP candidate. The latter not only lost but lost by 5,000 more votes than the UP had lost by in April, 1971, gaining a mere 41 percent of the total. In the contest for Senator for two provinces south of Santiago, which includes the huge copper mine of *El Teniente,* the UP contestant received only 46 percent of the votes, whereas in the April, 1971 municipal elections the government had received a bare majority. Although by no means a plebiscite, these contests did involve over 10 percent of Chile's electorate and not only represented a swing but, among certain strata, a decided trend. In addition, the defeat demonstrated that the styles of government strategy and campaigning need the profound post mortem now being given.

The Linares campaign was largely inspired and conducted by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) which is not officially in the UP and that much-studied phenomenon (by U.S. scholars at least): the Christian Left. The *tomas* (takeovers) of small property, vague talk of "Agrarian Reform Centers" (not in the basic law), as well as demonstrations and propaganda reminiscent of accounts of Communist youth spearheading the first collectivization drive in Russia in 1928 definitely did not win votes. Both the Radicals and Communists denounced these tactics even before the election and were bitter afterwards that their opinions had been ignored. The rout might have been greater had not the government candidate been a woman and a sister of a martyred agrarian reform official under the PDC regime.

In the Senatorial fight the UP would have won had the election been confined to the men or larger towns of the two provinces. The women voted heavily for the PDC candidate, worried as they are about shortages and the violent tone adopted by the pro-government press. The UP Coalition could have one slender consolation: Not only the world press but even a vehement anti-Communist Peruvian intellectual reported to the reactionary *La Presna* of Lima that "liberty of experssion is complete in Chile." The *National Review* and *Reader's Digest* will have to continue (?) to hold their fire.

On January 24 the President of the PDC, Renán Fuentealba, declared that the President could "open a door for a dialogue with the democratic forces of the country." He added that if the Party of the Radical Left (PIR—which broke away from the main body of Radicals last year . . . for being too left!) was accepted into the Cabinet it would be a healthy sign. Days later Allende incorporated the PIR into his coalition. As Fuentealba had contended, rightly, in the same statement: Allende is too smart a politician and too intelligent a man to continue radical styles and measures without majority popular support.

Scaring the Voters

Both a New York *Times* editorial of last December 27 and a long piece in *Le Figaro* of Paris two weeks later described—quite accurately—the campaign of hate and fear in the government press and propaganda. Communist Senator Volodia Teitleboim and the President agreed. The former, in a report, denounced the UP tabloids *Clarín* and *Ultima Hora* for frightening the independent voters by calling all opposition elements "fascists" and alienating the middle classes and women. A long Communist "What is To be Done?" report followed up this criticism with others. The PC admits the serious loss of popular support for the government. It censures its seven partners for not having, as did the PC, learned from the UP defeat in the by-election of last July in Valparaiso. It urges unity against the "main enemy"—the Imperialists, monopolists and *Partido Nacional* instead of the PDC and middle sectors. It asked the MIR and Christian Left to ponder why it was that although the rate of legal large-farm takeovers was five times that of the PDC's last year in office the *campesinos'* support for the UP has not grown. Naturally, the MIR and Christian Left have responded in kind, accusing the PC of opportunism and over-concern for the middle strata.

President Allende represents a minority faction within his own Socialist Party whose General Secretary, Senator Carlos Altamirano, approves of MIR tactics and the agrarian reform as administered by the Left Christian,

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Jacques Chonchol. The latter, therefore, remained in the Cabinet after the reshuffle and the new Interior Minister is closer to Altamirano than to Allende or the PC. The President has, however, insisted that the eight parties and groups be reduced to four, with two being specifically charged with attracting the middle class (of which, anomalous as it would seem to a North American visitor, one Chilean in three considers himself) and small landholders. The present "quota system" of assigning jobs and positions in the public administration on the basis of party, group and faction is torturous and makes for the wrong man's being in the wrong place all too often. Allende is determined to shake up the *"manos medios"* (middle management) if only to answer the charges of the opposition as well as certain UP supporters of a increasingly unwieldy inefficient bureaucracy. Whether he can do it without a restructuring of the UP itself and the major parties within it is doubtful as things stand.

More serious in even the short run is the lack of explanation to the average *chileno* as to why certain unpleasant government measures are unavoidable. As the Communist report cited above underscores, to pretend a shortage of public transport does not exist and to remain silent as to the necessity of the recent 30 percent to 60 percent price rises of such essentials as bread, milk and sugar is to give ammunition to the opposition. It may reassure time-serving bureaucrats to offer no explanations as to why 40,000 applications for importations are "pending," but the *Partido Nacional* and its organ *Tribuna* provide them—even if they are specious. Granted that a growing balance-of-payments problem plus the complexities of renegotiation of the foreign debt are hard to put in a 20-minute "fireside chat." Yet it would be an improvement on calling grumblers fascists and would demonstrate that the UP had confidence in the intelligence of the average voter.

A group of university economists recently pointed out that individual consumption went up over 10 percent in 1971 and that unemployment halved, but that these popular measures had their cost—a budget deficit of 40 percent of the total and a sharp decline of investment in the productive base of the economy. This, in addition to the one and a quarter billion dollars which, unless agreement is reached with creditor nations soon, has to be serviced over the next three years would require explanations enough. Yet the UP head of planning says 1972 will be a good year if the Imperialists (creditor nations?) and subversives (grumblers?) are handled deftly.

The planning projections are all for 1975-76, naturally. In the meantime apolitical economists report that the next 12 months will bring either inflation, rationing, or further foreign indebtedness. (The proposed L 25 million Chinese loan will not make one whit of difference except for the last category.) All this, and the government, instead of at least insisting that retailers sell only "two to a customer" to restrain hoarding, suggests yet another bureaucratic solution, Neighborhood Supply Centers.

Even more extraordinary, to this writer at least, the government does not take credit where credit is due. Thus, although passed unanimously, the recent rent law *was* enacted under the UP, not PDC. Can one conceive F.D.R.'s not taking credit for a law (even if a majority of Republicans voted for it) which assigns maximum rent at 11 percent of assessed value of the property (which is absurdly undervalued)? This will represent a substantial increase in the standard of living for 75 percent of the population.

But it is February as I write and "everyone" is either at the coast or south in the cool and lovely Lake Country, and if dirty linen is to be washed by the UP in public now is the time to do it. The feeling is that the present Cabinet (which includes the ubiquitous Tohá now as Defense Minister) is provisional and will last only a month or so while the coalition rediscovers its fading *"unidad."* In the meantime the President is concentrating on the more immediate task of preparing facilities for the Third U.N. Conference on Trade and Development scheduled to meet in Santiago next April. It may confidently be expected that the whole country will close ranks and extend its traditional hospitality to fellow members of the Third World.

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JOSEPH PRONECHEN

HANDBALL THOUGHTS

cool and confident I
stare into my six-sided
blank-walled vacuum mind
scanning the tabula rasa
while weighing thoughts
delicately on each palm
until the right moment
when with a flick they
fly from off fingertips
whack first one wall
then another and another
bouncing back and forth
and back and forth
echoes diminishing
with each tap and
turn in time til
they lie either
dead or dying

today the
wall wins
(again)

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THE SCREEN

It is something of a critic's cliché to complain because a director's first film or two are better than anything he's done since. But in Sam Peckinpah's case, I can't help thinking that an early film—*Ride the High Country,* made in 1962—really is the best he's done. His most recent film, *Straw Dogs*, only confirms for me a decline of his talents apparent in his last three films. Movie-making is notorious for being a business/art that uses up a director's ideas and creative energies at a meteoric pace. If this is just another of those clichés, then it's beginning to look as if the story of Peckinpah's career may be a cliché one. The change in Peckinpah's work during the ten years from *Ride the High Country* to the new film suggests that he has quickly—too quickly—grown old. He is like a man whose sex life has declined from lustiness to voyeurism and impotence.

Ride the High Country is about a couple of old men—aging frontiersmen who are played by aging Western movie stars Randolph Scott and Joel McCrea. It's the sort of cowboy film that has a sunset at the end. Although the classic Western always had a happy ending, there was usually a note of sadness in that sunset. Whether he was Harry Carey or John Wayne, the hero always had to move on alone. In *Ride the High Country*, the note of sadness is increased and the traditional ending develops a new mood of finality. There is no place left to move on to. One of Peckinpah's two characters dies, and the other clearly won't have much of a life left. Although this may be a bit syrupy, it is at least a new attempt to humanize old legends. Perhaps because his own ancestors were late California pioneers, Peckinpah's film is at least a personal response to history.

In *The Wild Bunch,* Peckinpah's 1968 "brutal ballet," the vision of *Ride the High Country* began to crack up. The lead characters in *Ride the High Country* are men who are being forced increasingly to live in the past. The background of their story is therefore essential to our understanding of them, and the film takes some pains to fill in that background where necessary through the dialogue. In *The Wild Bunch,* the background is equally important since the characters know each other from way back. One of them, Thornton (Robert Ryan), has been promised a pardon from prison if he can kill his former partner, Pike (William Holden), who is leading outlaw raids on Texas from across the Mexican border. But Thornton passes up a clear shot at Pike several times, apparently because their past relationship restrains him. Why does he do so? This is the central question posed by the film.

In this film, however, Peckinpah seemed more concerned with a decadent kind of technical virtuosity than with the psychology of his characters. He gave us virtually no idea what the relationship between the protagonists might have been. Word had it when the film was premiering that some flashbacks had originally been done to clarify the characters' past, but only one of these was included in the release prints. In this film, the characters' past seemed to lose all coherence for Peckinpah. In *Straw Dogs* the same thing happens. The story is now set in the rural England of the present where an American professor, David (Dustin Hoffman), is on sabbatical leave with his wife Amy (Susan George). But she seems to have lived here before in the same cottage she and David have leased. Moreover, she must have had a pretty torrid relationship with some of the local lads. But again the film insinuates the characters' past without ever bothering to go beyond insinuation. Amy remains a cliché woman "with a past," as the saying goes, because we have only the most shallow idea of what her past really is.

Because of its nostalgia for the Western frontier, *Ride the High Country* is a sentimental film. But in the last two films that Peckinpah made before *Straw Dogs,* his sentimentality becomes, like his characters' pasts, extraneous. At the end of *The Wild Bunch,* while Thornton is having a reflective moment, there appears beside him on the screen little cameo portraits of the men in his bounty-hunting party who have been killed. The implication is that Thornton feels some sense of loss at not having these men around anymore, but the sentiment is here as strained as the fake and dated lab effect Peckinpah is using to express it. Throughout the film Thornton has loathed both the work he has had to do with these men and the ineptness of the men themselves. Having wasted chances to establish the necessary tie between Thornton and Pike, the film now goes out of its way to foist off on us a completely unacceptable relationship between Thornton and other characters. In Peckinpah's 1970 Western comedy, *The Ballad of Cable Hogue,* the sentiment is more genuine. But at the end Peckinpah again overextended himself. Cable dies a too-symbolical death (he is run over by the first automobile he's ever seen), and then David Warner delivers an interminable eulogy.

In *Straw Dogs* Peckinpah finally passes beyond phony sentiment, but does so only to achieve some sort of opposite. Instead of being too sympathetic, he now finds all his characters repulsive. David is an intellectual pansy, a man who uses reasonableness as a crutch for his own inadequacies. Amy is a bitchy sex fiend. And the local residents are assorted brutes, idiots, and loonies. Out of the whole lot, only one redeems himself in Peckinpah's eyes, and that is David. But in this, Peckinpah cheapens the heritage that his films originally seemed intended to preserve. Although Peckinpah said after *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* that he wanted to give up the Western,

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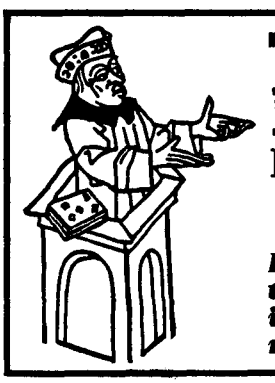
Straw Dogs may strike some as just another Western in disguise. But I don't think that it is. Removed from its native time and place, Peckinpah's frontier vision has withered away in *Straw Dogs*. All that is left is a sterile respect for trial by violence and some arboreal notions about manhood.

After having been intimidated by the local bullies, who also help themselves to his wife, David at last achieves the irrationality needed to cope with them. It is a threat against his property rights that finally sets him off. Once his life has been reduced to this level, Peckinpah can admire him. But no, that's not quite it. At the heart of the film lies Peckinpah's admiration for the reduction itself. The truth seems to be that Peckinpah cannot believe in any other ordeal. Any director who makes an elegaic first film obviously leaves himself with difficulties to overcome if he is to go on making films on the same themes. Peckinpah has ultimately not been able to overcome them. In *Straw Dogs* he clings sensationally to values that have become meretricious, even in his own films. Like his earlier films and his family background, Peckinpah's current work is as American as cherry pie.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.



THEOLOGY ITALIAN STYLE

LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM

Italy has not produced a thinker of the stature of Rahner or Lonergan in our century, but pessimism need not be complete. There is Balducci.

THE INFLUENCE of Italian theologians on the contemporary scene has not been inconsiderable if one judges from the vehemence with which modern theology has reacted against the manualist tradition of the Roman schools and the not inconsiderable influence that crucial theologians—largely but not exclusively Italian—have exercised in the shaping of papal and synodal documents. But judged from the viewpoint of truly creative methodology and fecundity of approach Italian theology has been—how may one express it charitably?—less than first-rate. Italy has not produced a thinker of the stature of Rahner or Lonergan in our century and has not even managed a gadfly of the stature of Hans Küng. Indeed one must go back to Rosmini to single out a theological writer of creative or prophetic stature.

It is interesting, if a bit futile, to speculate on the reasons for this lack in Italy. Certain obvious factors can be noted. There was the withdrawal of Catholics from the intellectual life of Italy after the *Risorgimento*. This isolation was reinforced a scant generation later by the whole repressive mood of the Modernist era—an era in Italy that did not end until well into this decade. One could also note the proximity of the Vatican and the close (one is tempted to say, virtual) identification of the Italian church with the entire Vatican *gestalt*.

One curious result of Vatican proximity is the tendency of Italian theological writing, even the best of it, to sound so much like curial statements. The books and articles that one reads even today have a tendency to be baroque and a bit pompous. This may be in the nature of the language itself; I do not know. However, it is interesting and harmless enough to muse over the relation between language and concept in theological writing. It may shed more light on what Michael Novak has called "style" in theology. It has always seemed to me that Karl Rahner can say some very banal things (and he has said a few) with the air of someone who has just delineated the distinction between essence and existence to everyone's satisfaction. French writers manage a quite different effect. Teilhard de Chardin can describe petrified fossil remains in a way that makes you think that he is describing the third heaven of St. Paul. Perhaps Italian theological prose just throws one's imagination towards reveries about Bernini's architecture and sculptural motifs. But I digress.

If I have seemed pessimistic or critical about theology in Italy that pessimism is not complete. A case in point is the Florentine theologian, Ernesto Balducci. As a Christian activist Balducci has impeccable credentials: he is a highly sought-after speaker and preacher; he has been one of the few church figures that has made the cause of the benighted Italian conscientious objectors his own; he has been a firm friend and stanch supporter of the dissident Isolotto community in its dealings with the Florentine curia; he has been a supporter of the late Don Milani. He has recently received the highest accolade possible for a member of the loyal opposition: after a heated exchange with Cardinal Daniélou on power and class in the church on Italian TV, he was criticized (though not by name) by no less an avid viewer than Pope Paul VI. Don Ernesto is also a productive theological thinker. He is a founder of the influential liberal theological journal *Testimonianze*, regularly writes for it and has many books, articles and reviews to his credit. His name appears

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regularly both in the popular weeklies and the more recondite journals in Italy.

Just recently he has published a diary that he has kept for the last ten years. Entitled *Diario dell-Esodo 1960/70* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1971), it is the fruit of ten years meditation of a deeply committed theologian with wide pastoral interests on the spasms and joys of a crucial decade. It is an important book if for no other reason than the rarity of its approach: a professional theologian reflecting on the culture of his own time from the vantage point of his own faith and the perspective of his own spiritual life. It is, at one and the same time, a perfectly blended mix of spiritual autobiography and mature theological inquiry. I found the book intriguing for any number of reasons.

First of all, a word about "style." It is a pleasure to see the elements of imaginative humor and wryness serve the purpose of theology. One could not help but smile as Balducci meditates on the course of history if Martin Luther King in 1956 at Montgomery had been Padre Luther King, S.J. Balducci, at least, is convinced that, in the days before radical social action was part of the Ignatian image, the society would have saved Padre King from the indignity of martyrdom. The point of the historical daydreaming is a launch pad for a discussion of the prophetic role of the clergy in a structured situation. Equally telling were his strictures against the establishment newspaper *Corriere della Sera* of Milan for its sudden equation of Dutch ecclesiastical unrest with radical politics. The *Corriere*'s writer seemed to be saying that if the Catechism of the Dutch is denying the Virgin Birth, angels and the immortality of the soul, the next thing you know it will be a denial of the Atlantic Pact and NATO. Quick as your eye Balducci has laid open the real and crucial difference between the church as believing community and the church as cultural institution that serves to reinforce the ethos of the status quo.

Yet it would be a sad mistake to think that Balducci is a spiritual aphorist who launches pious witticisms from articles gleaned from the press. Still less would it be fair to judge him as one of those innumerable practitioners of "making theology relevant." He is, in short, no Italian Malcolm Boyd. In fact, one senses immediately his firm foothold in the tradition of Catholic theology with a corresponding openness to the movement of the Spirit outside of it: "When I read the writings of certain older and younger Catholics it enrages and upsets me while the *Lettere* of the atheist Antonio Gramsci can bring me to tears. I say this because one can sin against the light both within and without the confines of the Promised Land." It is precisely because of this balance that Balducci never yields to the temptation of chasing the latest theological fad. His appreciation of the insights of the writers on hope, the secular city, revolutionary theology, etc. is evident; his hesitancy to take up their banners is encouraging. Hence one finds that he is both appreciative of, and a man influenced by, all the currents of modern culture while still using the critical discipline of his own apprehension of theology as a critical tool.

This last point is one that I would like to underscore. The most attractive thing about this diary is that Balducci never loses sight of his personal identity as a theologian. He is a man of Faith seeking understanding. Hence his reflections always begin with and end in his search for meaning in terms of the Gospel. He never becomes merely a social critic or cultural commentator. By remaining faithful to the Faith upon which he reflects, Balducci has been able to criticize and analyze the unfolding events of history from a determined perspective. One may say that such a point of view is that of a "cognitive minority" (to use Peter Berger's phrase) but one thing is certain and this is that Balducci understands his presuppositions and then attempts to communicate to others. He is not a theologian speaking to other theologians. He is a theologian who attempts to get a hearing in the larger world of Italian culture. The number of people who read him outside the church and the puzzlement of some inside both indicate the success he has had.

Balducci has called his book a diary of the Exodus. He realizes that a going out is always an aleatory experience. One moves with a certain direction but the destination is not always in sight. One moves in hope. One also moves with the idea that perhaps the destination is clear in the things that have already happened. Prophecy, as he points out in his Foreword, is never without memory. In the looking back and in the looking forward Balducci has discovered the most fruitful methodology for the doing of theology and for the living of life. This methodology is really just an application of the old insight of *semper vetus, semper novum.* It is a mark of the fruitfulness of that approach that Balducci manages to carry it off so well. It is also a sign that Italian theology is not as moribund as the stereotype would have it.

KATHARINE C. TURNER

WONDERLAND

Good prose is clear:
"Exit" over the door or
"Air Raid Shelter."
But good verse,
Like Alice's bottle,
May be pleasingly
Teasingly
Ambiguous:
"Drink me."

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BOOKS

Bridging the thought-gap to China

The Rise of Modern China

IMMANEUL C. Y. HSU

Oxford, $14.50

Understanding Modern China

JOSEPH KITAGAWA, ED.

Quadrangle, $7.50

China and Ourselves

BRUCE DOUGLASS AND ROSS TERRILL, EDS.

Beacon, $7.50

NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD

The Western understanding of China is beset with many problems. One is the sheer length of contemporary Chinese history. By this I mean that while the Chinese revolution has been a fact of life through most of the twentieth century, a number of the men who were the chief protagonists of the movement in its early days are still with us. To realize what this means, consider the leading statesmen of Europe and America in the twenties and thirties: men like Stresemann, Blum, Roosevelt, Chamberlain, or Stalin, to name a few. They are all dead, and are now figures conveniently separated from the here and now by such great watersheds as the depression and the second world war; they are therefore "historical" and can be so treated.

There has been no such watershed in China (not even in 1949); and today the men in charge of both sides of the Taiwan Straits—Mao, Chiang, Chou, and such lesser luminaries and ex-luminaries as Lin Piao and Liu Shao-ch'i—are all men who came of age in the twenties, and who very soon found themselves in high positions of leadership in the revolution. This gives the history of the Chinese revolution an immediacy and makes it harder for us to stand back and view, with any sense of critical judgment, the events not only of the recent fifties and sixties, but of the two or three decades before that as well. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 is sometimes taken as the beginning of "modern" China. More than that, (since the revolutionary events of 1919 and later were very much part of the experience of all the leaders I have mentioned) it is the beginning of contemporary China as well.

Add to this the cold war, America's (both favorable and unfavorable) emotional view of China, the unavailability of various historical sources, and the difficulties in understanding China increases. Professor Hsü takes a traditional approach to the problem, in that he comes to an understanding through history. He has written a masterpiece—a big, thorough book, based on an extraordinarily wide range of reading. He is particularly good on the nineteenth century, the twilight of 'traditional' China. He quite rightly (I think) sees the decline of imperial China stemming primarily from internal causes, rather than from the depredations of the imperialists—a line popular today both on Taiwan and the mainland. Hsü has written much on diplomatic history, and his treatment of foreign relations in this book is outstanding. Everywhere, in fact, his sweep of knowledge is breathtaking, and it is ungracious to suggest that he should have done more. However, simply because of his thorough treatment of his subject, I would have liked his comments on the views of other historians of the period, such as Mary Wright's analysis of the failure of the Self-strengthening movement of the 19th century, or Franz Michael's description of the Taiping rebellion as a genuinely totalitarian movement, and therefore something quite new in Chinese history. But this is only a gentle quibble; the book is clearly essential for a student of modern China.

The other two books are different, collections of essays on various facets of China, including its very recent past, by established China scholars (in the Kitagawa book) and collections of essays, representing sometimes more personal views, by younger scholars (in the Terrill and Douglass book). The essays in the former were written originally in March 1968, at a time when the Cultural Revolution was in full swing. The essays reflect this. Many of them try to strike a balance between analyzing the 'mainstream' of Chinese history since 1949, while trying to account for the sudden and unexpected changes which took place in the years since 1965. On the whole, however, the contributors strike a very nice balance between the two, and thus the book has not dated, even though China has compromised seriously her revolutionary purity since 1968 (and thus, incidentally, managed to bring off some significant victories in the realm of foreign affairs).

The article by Stephen Uhalley on Taiwan deserves mention; I find it the best brief introduction to that island that I know of. Both Uhalley and Mark Mancall hold out the possibility of an independent Taiwan, free from either Nationalist or Communist rule, while E. G. Pulleybank argues elsewhere in the volume that this question, like that of Tibet, should be solved by the Chinese themselves, and any foreign interference would be impertinent. That, of course, is natural from a mainland point of view. Should foreigners, however, try to make sure that the Taiwanese are consulted about their future before another Tibetan situation arises? What is impertinent to mainlanders, Nationalist or Communist, might be quite pertinent to the Taiwanese.

The Terrill and Douglass book is subtitled "Explorations and Revisions

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by a New Generation," a line put in presumably by the publisher with an eye to the generation-gap market, because, with one or two exceptions, the revisions of earlier theories are not noticeable. The authors of the essays, all of them young scholars, accept Mao and the People's Republic as a fact of life. But who, save the right splinter of the GOP, does not? Ross Terrill, in an otherwise fine article, allows himself to make the astounding statement that "the China scholars, no less than the State Department, have in their vast majority, upheld the desirability of Maoist collapse." This, I think, simply cannot be substantiated. I say this not to denigrate a very interesting book, but simply to deflate the claims sometimes made to give a novel appearance to what is not really new at all. This is a book of interesting, if somewhat disparate articles, written by intelligent men of good will, with no cold war hangups, either anti-Chinese or, perhaps more surprisingly, anti-American. (Indeed Terrill warns young leftists not to succumb to the temptation of Voltaire, who used an idealized picture of a China that never was as a stick with which to beat a corrupted western society.) They praise China when praise is deserved, and criticize quite forthrightly what they do not like in that country; and their conclusions do not seem to me for the most part to differ from the older generation of China scholars whom, their publisher implies, they are not replacing.

The Erosion of Faith: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Contemporary Crisis in Religious Thought

THOMAS A. IDINOPULOS

Quadrangle Books, $8.95

JAMES R. KELLY

In the past, Thomas A. Idinopulos writes, faith once rested secure, and theology, the "queen" of the sciences, was the basis of ethics, law, government, and art. Once queen, theology now seems to be more the waif, plaintively seeking respectability from the newer sensibilities of depth psychology and sociology or the perennial concern for social reform. Some reputable Christian authors will not even allow us the term "God," as it might suggest that "He" is an object, albeit supreme, who is changeless and essentially unaffected by the shallow drama staged by men in the world beneath. (For example, see Louis Monden's *Faith: Can Man Still Believe?* and Gregory Baum's *Man Becoming.*)

In *The Erosion of Faith* Thomas A. Idinopolus contributes to the exploration of the meaning of faith in an age suspicious of religious consolation and wary of organized religion by examining several key nineteenth- and twentieth-century religious thinkers who have creatively attempted to refashion the meaning of faith in such a way that being a believer and being human in the modern world are seen as correlative rather than antithetical. Is religion, Idinopulos asks, at the heart of human-

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ity, or is it its negation? The book, then, might be more accurately entitled *The Faith of Erosion*. For most of the religious thinkers presented, while decidedly minimizing the significance of traditional beliefs and institutional practices (Barth, Maritain and Rubenstein are exceptions) and thereby aiding in a way the erosion of faith, attempt to show the religious depth of all authentic human experience. The religious thinkers studied are Schleiermacher, Kierkegaard, Barth, Tillich, Maritain, Berdyaev, Buber, Bonhoeffer, Cox, Altizer, Rubenstein, and Meland. Since the book is not an anthology but a critical summary of the main tendencies in contemporary theology, the omission of important figures such as Chardin, Rahner, Niebuhr and Moltmann is allowable if the intended result is achieved with a modicum of balance. In the main it is.

The author gives a high-level *Reader's Digest* sketch of each theologian and the main contours of his work, adequately delineating their major differences in assumption and methodology. The summary of the secular theologians is especially concise and illustrates Idinopulos' appreciative and balanced approach. He notes that the secular theologians, chary of the use of organized religion as a source of an infantile consolation which stunts individual growth and hinders social justice, are countering centuries of religious conservatism, "a conservatism expressed intellectually in the theologies of the divine absolute; expressed scripturally in the mythology of miracles and the belief in the three-storied universe consisting of heaven, hell and earth; a conservatism manifested in fixed and oppressive attitudes toward class, race, labor, money, community, war and peace, and exhibited in the church's outdated and repressive psychological views toward individuality, family, women, and sex."

But qualifying such a Promethean and non-institutional view of the "proper" religious attitude for the mature twentieth-century believer, Idinopulos remarks that the relation between the individual religious sensibility and organized religion is organic: "If secularization threatens historic religious institutions and practices, it thereby threatens the means by which countless human beings give symbolic voice to their deepest feelings about the mysterious and ultimate meanings of living and dying."

The Erosion of Faith, then, is a fair introduction to some of the main currents in contemporary theology. Though Idinopulos is not very analytic, the careful reader will learn why some modern theologians feel that it will become increasingly difficult to distinguish believers and non-believers. Perhaps even the denominational Christian will wonder whether he does in fact believe in God. Once the attempt to apply the language of being to God is abandoned, many of the unreflective practices of piety are liable to be uprooted, or at least greatly affected. For despite what religious intellectuals consider proper theological thinking to be, the "Greek" conception of God seems to be the only one most people, even sophisticated non-believers, are up to. As a trivial illustration of the point, in his mod-sentimental *Love Story* Erich Segal has Oliver Barret, hoping for at least a few more lingering months for the ill-fated Jennifer, prayerfully mutter, "Whoever's up there running the show, Mr. Supreme Being, sir, keep it up."

But as believers find it increasingly difficult to say at any given moment whether they believe in God, non-believers too will increasingly be uncertain in their explicit non-belief. For given a certain degree of sophistication (presumably increasing with the continued institutionalization of mass education), the experiences of the radical contingency of all being and all human projects become ordinary human reflections. Ultimate questions, as "Is there any abiding significance to my efforts?", might become commonplace for many. For a while, perhaps, the hope for a utopian collective arrangement, for example, on a Marxist model, might dull the human anguish felt at experiencing the void (the lack of all ultimate transcendent significance), but acute observers of the nature of utopian thought, such as Arendt and Reszak, suggest that such a narcotization is at root an unstable intellectual position.

Finally, believers might become increasingly reluctant to present explicit arguments for their belief. Many contemporary theologians concede that there are no formal proofs for God's existence. Belief, they suggest, is more a description of what personal stance one adopts (open, trusting, loving) before the experience of the void, rather than any logical deduction from empirical reality. Many agree that it is always possible to look at the same data and find the absence of God.

If this skimpy analysis is not entirely incorrect, belief in God will become less utilitarian (it solves no empirical human problems), less dogmatic (God is the affirmative side of the experience of nothingness), less polemical or even missionic (there are no objective proofs), and more mystic, in the sense that the believer will be reluctant to describe the attributes of God, such as "omnipotence" or "omniscience." On the other hand, the believer will gratefully acknowledge the gift of perceiving beyond the tragic incompleteness of life a presence which, to his miniscule powers of intellect, suggests a love which freely grounds all of reality and his own humanity. Which, after all, is merely a clumsy way of acknowledging that faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen.

If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance

ANGELA Y. DAVIS, RUCHELL MAGEE, THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Third Press, $6.95

STEVEN V. ROBERTS

James Baldwin, in an open letter to "my sister, Angela Davis," writes: "what has happened, it seems to me, and to put it far too simply, is that a whole new generation of people have assessed and absorbed their history,

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and in that tremendous action, have freed themselves of it and will never be victims again. . . . The secret is out: we are men!"

In that passage Baldwin identifies what this hodge-podge of a book really is: a chronicle of a new consciousness among American blacks, of their cries for pride and humanity, of their fearsome determination never to be victims again. (It is published by The Third Press, a black-owned company supported by the Ford Foundation.)

The best parts of *If They Come in the Morning* are several essays by Miss Davis, the former philosophy teacher now accused of providing the guns for a bloody and abortive escape attempt at the Marin County, Calif. courthouse in 1970. Most of the remaining pages are padded with statements and letters from George Jackson, Ruchell Magee, Bobby Seale and other "political prisoners," an imprecise term which ostensibly means someone prosecuted for political beliefs, not criminal acts. Lately the title has been conferred on almost any inmate who can make a fist and shout "power to the people." And at times, this book degenerates into stupefying radical rhetoric, with all the originality of a child's writing "I won't pull Susie's hair" one hundred times on the blackboard.

In spite of the rhetoric, however, and sometimes because of it, this is an infuriating book, and rousing that sort of emotion is no small achievement. For instance, Miss Davis describes how a glaring double standard is often applied to violence by militants and police. J. Edgar Hoover has labelled the Black Panthers the gravest threat to domestic tranquility, and the mere sight of one on television starts locks clicking shut across America. But it was the Chicago police who murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds, the National Guard who killed four students at Kent State, and the state troopers who shot most of the inmates and hostages at Attica.

Moreover, Miss Davis argues, the courts are often used as "instruments of oppression" against blacks—and whites—bold enough to challenge the existing order. Look at some of the cases. Twenty-one New York Panthers were accused of conspiring to blow up public buildings, and many of them, who could not raise the bail, served more than a year in jail before they were acquitted. Seven black inmates of California's Soledad prison were charged with murdering a guard and placed in isolation. At the trial, the prosecutor asked for a dismissal when his chief witness admitted that he had been bribed into testifying. Lee Otis Johnson, a civil rights worker in Houston, is serving a 30-year jail sentence on charges of possession and sale of one marijuana cigarette. Miss Davis herself has spent more than a year in jail without being convicted of anything because her repeated appeals for bail had been denied.

Even allowing for exaggeration, these accounts leave one outraged; "equal protection of the laws" rings hollow. But the book is maddening in another way. Its whole tone implies that the only acceptable response is an enthusiastic "right on," without any questions or doubts. The fact remains, however, that the book bristles with contradictions.

The authors repeatedly assert their independence and self-determination, yet they say that virtually all criminals are "victims" of socio-economic forces and are not responsible for their actions. They want the protection of the courts, but do not admit the right of a free society to protect itself. They talk about forging a "united front," but even the Panthers are rent by petty squabbling. They praise the "working class" in the abstract, but have nothing but contempt for the police, who belong to the working class if anybody does. They denounce racism, but they canonize the three black prisoners who died at the Marin County courthouse. while ignoring the fourth victim, a white judge.

In essence, then, this is a book written by revolutionaries, true believers, who can justify anything in the name of their cause. And I have to give a wishy-washy, liberal response: "Right on, but. . ."

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REVIEWERS

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STEVEN V. ROBERTS is chief of the *New York Times'* Los Angeles Bureau.

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Michael Novak (Cont.)

politician, is a chronically poor campaigner. Characteristically, he starts far ahead in the polls and by election day has succeeded in slipping disastrously. His steady support seems to be at about 43% of the electorate. It appears that in 1972 he starts with at most a four percent bulge over Muskie. The Democrats' best friend, John Mitchell, is once again in charge of losing Nixon's lead.

Nixon accused Johnson of a major blunder in 1968: Johnson singled

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Nixon out for criticizing Johnson's peace efforts. In 1972, Nixon gave the same eminence to Muskie.

A President is not a savior. But he establishes the political vocabulary for an entire term. Nixon invented a "silent majority" which, I believe, has never been shown to exist. Now everybody is obliged to deal with that formulation. Nixon spoke of a "move to the right" in American politics. But if you watch what Nixon does rather than what he says, you note that all his major moves are to the left. *That's* where the country is—far more on the side of change and progress than any major politician has been able to plumb and shape. The phrasing and conception of the necessary changes (economic and social) must be articulated in the language of the lower middle class. So far, the language is such that it titillates only those whose future (jobs, homes, opportunities) is not so deeply at stake: the intellectuals and the educated.

The future of American politics lies with the beer-truck drivers, plumbers, carpenters, gas station attendants and others on the front line of social change. Leaders who speak their languge will shape their powerful political emotions. Those emotions are neither fascist, racist, or even conservative, except by default. Such voters are not *flocking* to Wallace. No one else is even trying to think things through from their starting point. The class bias of the educated stifles thought.

The story of politics in this decade is who gets there first and most effectively. They are the crucial independent voters. I think Muskie can do it as no one else since Bobby Kennedy. If he awakens in time, and fulfills the motto of his beloved Maine: *Dirigo,* I lead.

Are Things Changing?

In theory, if not in practice, Catholic tradition has always upheld and honored the peacemaker, and over the centuries the church officially tried to restrain violence, to lessen it, to "civilize" it—witness the long effort to set down at least the minimum conditions that had to be met before a war could be considered just, and this in spite of aberrations like the Crusades. With the exception of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement, it is this tradition of peace-making that American Catholics have taken too lightly.

What is the change that is beginning to make itself seen? The difference, if we are not mistaken, is that the younger generation of Catholics is not hung up on rigid anti-Communism, on authority, or on the need to "prove their patriotism"; its members are determined to transform the traditional Christian reconciling role from unobserved theory into nitty-gritty practice, and this determination is symbolized by the Berrigans. The Fathers Berrigan, we think, are in more than the usual reverential sense fathers of a new generation —a numerically small one, perhaps, but a generation dedicated to the work of peace. This, at least, is our estimate, and if we are correct in it, it provides a happy note on which to welcome the New Year.

—*Commonweal,* January 7, 1972

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 51)

expressing its own and its country's aims. Yet today—when so many other national, ethnic and cultural groups are struggling to find voices for their own experience—do not such pioneering efforts as that of the Irish Renaissance seem worthy of thoughtful, sympathetic appraisal? Your writer ignores such considerations, expending your columns instead on that least common denominator in all human endeavors: individual human failings.

The greatest of the Irish Renaissance poets, William Butler Yeats, admitted that he had often found the activities of his associates as deserving of "a mocking tale or a gibe." But when Yeats learned that a group of these men —Padraic Pearse and Thomas MacDonagh among them—had deliberately forfeited their lives and promising careers to protest the foreign domination of their country, he wrote a poem of public apology to their memory. Of their decision, he confessed in "Easter, 1916": "A terrible beauty is born."

Commonweal's writer shows no such magnanimity. Her pleasure in recalling mocking tales and gibes encourages her

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to link Colum's name, and those of his patriot friends Pearse and MacDonagh, with every Irish literary scandal that occurred within decades of their active careers. In her slanderous game of name-dropping, even the most elemental rules of scholarship are ignored. The *Oxford Book of English Verse* could have informed her, for example, that Lionel Johnson had died in 1902 (falling from a London barstool, as she gaily reminds her readers of the story that saddened Colum and Yeats). But Lionel Johnson could not possibly, then, have attended the newly-married Colums' social gatherings in Dublin—the Colums were not married until 1912. Oscar Wilde could not have attended them, either; he died in France in 1900. But how—except by such irresponsible muddling of incidents, dates and countries—could your writer have jumbled together so many Irish writers, flicking them all with the same vulgar cliché: "Most of them came to a bad end."

Padraic Colum—unlike your writer—regarded the deaths of his poet-patriot friends in 1916 as "ends" marked by immense, unpretending dignity. May I ask *Commonweal,* in bare justice, to reprint Colum's own brief account of Thomas MacDonagh's death? This description of a principled man's last hours illustrates with what extreme looseness your writer distributes her phrase, "a bad end":

> The military gave a quarter of an hour to his [Thomas MacDonagh's] court-martial. He was called upon at midnight in Richmond Barrack and was told that he would be shot at dawn. He sent for his sister, who was a nun, and for a confessor. His wife was not able to reach him. . . . He sat down and wrote a letter to his wife. . . . His sister, when she came in, found that he had had nothing to eat or drink; there was no water for him to wash, and the sentry remained standing by them in the small cell. She turned to the sentry and said, "Will you give him some water to wash in?" The sentry said, "No."
>
> His sister gave him their mother's rosary, and he put it round his neck. "I hope they will give me this when it is all over," she said. "Ah, no," he said quietly, "They will shoot it to bits." "But they didn't," said the narrator, "they shot four beads out of it, and his sister has the rosary now. When the time came he went quietly along the corridor to his death."

Colum concludes his austere account of MacDonagh's death with a comment that reveals the humanizing ideal at which the Irish Literary movement aimed. Their hope was to raise the goals of their countrymen to a constructive vision of life, past and future—lifting them above the compulsive cycles of repression and reprisal that threatened (and still threaten) to engulf them. Colum points out that MacDonagh's positive love of his countrymen and their cultural heritage preserved him from vindictiveness, providing him with the same hopefulness that the ancient Irish had admired in their popular hero, Finn McCuhal:

> In the old heroic story Finn is asked what music he preferred. He spoke of the song of the blackbird, the screaming of the eagle, the bay of the hounds, the deep sound of the waterfall. But the music that he preferred to all these was "the music of the thing that happens." He [Thomas MacDonagh] followed the music that meant the language revival, the music that meant the Volunteer movement, the music that meant insurrection and the violent breaking into a new order. And he stood up, too, to the music that was the militarist's answer to the proclamation he had signed.

Padraic Colum, like Thomas MacDonagh and Finn McCuhal, loved "the music of the thing that happens." This sympathy enabled Colum to understand and interpret not only the local traditions of his Irish heritage, but the experimental efforts of his friend, James Joyce, to initiate in *Finnegans Wake* a pan-European vehicle of expression; it enabled him to understand and help the people of Hawaii to preserve the legends and history of their rapidly-disappearing past. A man of such universal human sympathy as Padraic Colum deserves a far worthier memorial than *Commonweal* has seen fit to accord him.

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REPLY

I am indeed very sorry to have occasioned Dr. Kennedy's wrath. But the tittle-tattles she objects to were taken from Mary Colum's *Life and the Dream.* Herewith the page references: for Darrell Figgis, p. 192; for Erskine Childers, ditto; for Lionel Johnson, p. 130. I myself did not know any of these. I read them in Mary Colum's book! And please, before anyone finally concludes that I do not care about Irish patriotism or the Irish literary Renaissance, do read my *Three-Cornered Heart* in which I describe my mother's involvement with Lady Gregory and Mr. Yeats (who both stayed with us in Sussex) and my memory of being got up at 6 a.m. to pray for Roger Casement, who was being hanged at that moment. I spent a fortnight with Lady Gregory at Coole when I was seventeen, and Mr. Yeats was there, and at that time I met AE also.

For me the Irish martyrs are to be prayed to, not for. However, I don't think Mr. Colum, who left Ireland forever before the Easter Rising, merits more than the memento I gave him. I knew both him and his wife, and I wrote as honestly as I knew how. But I am truly sorry if she read into my qualified praise of one man any dispraise of one of the most splendid flowerings the human spirit has ever produced.

ANNE FREMANTLE

Respective Pluralism

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: Father Albert Schlitzer [Feb. 29] faults me for not recognizing that theology today must be "pluralistic and dialectical." It's a nice theory. The trouble is that nobody really believes in it. Traditionalists, for example, long ago learned the futility of trying to assert their own values against the reforming zeal of liturgists, catechists, etc. Everyone extends respect mainly to those whose views are close to his own, and this is as true of "pluralists" as it is of anyone else.

JAMES HITCHCOCK

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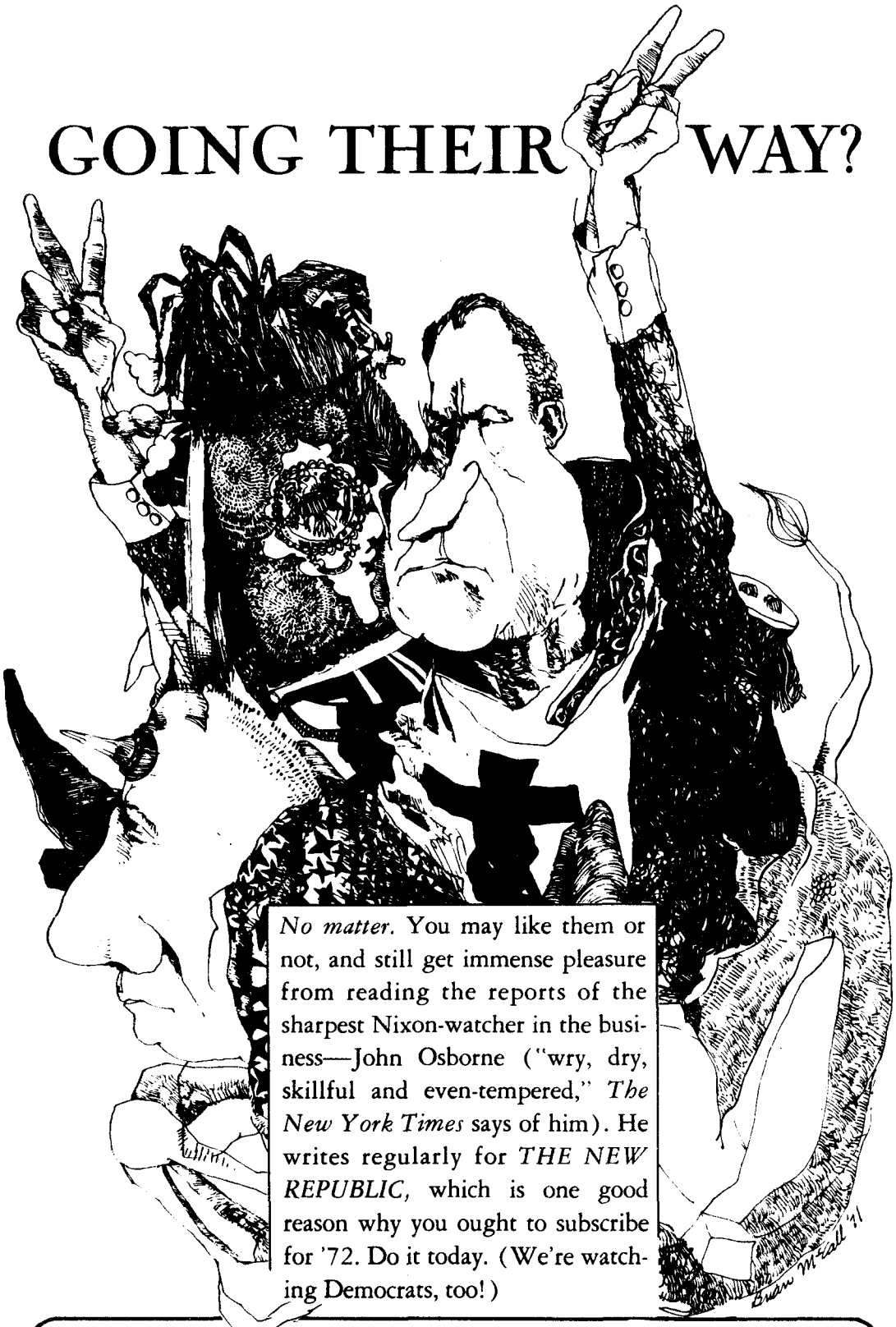
GOING THEIR WAY?



No matter. You may like them or not, and still get immense pleasure from reading the reports of the sharpest Nixon-watcher in the business—John Osborne ("wry, dry, skillful and even-tempered," *The New York Times* says of him). He writes regularly for *THE NEW REPUBLIC,* which is one good reason why you ought to subscribe for '72. Do it today. (We're watching Democrats, too!)

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